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Paleoism: Past, Present, and Future

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Six years ago, a small cadre of intellectuals met at the Rockford Institute to discuss a host of issues. Two sides were represented: the paleoconservatives associated with Rockford and the paleolibertarians associated with the Ludwig von Mises Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies.

There were positive reasons for meeting. We were united in our opposition to the welfare-warfare state, and in our desire for radical policy devolution. And there were also negative reasons: both sides were unhappy with the scoundrels, liars, and scam artists who comprised our supposed allies among the neoconservatives and left-libertarians.

Whatever our deep philosophic differences, we had more in common with each other than with our official movements. We met, talked, and the paleo coalition was born.

In the intervening years we've suffered the passing of M.E. Bradford and Murray N. Rothbard, two intellectual giants whose life and work defined the paleo spirit, and gave us the best scholarship of our tradition. How pleased they would be to know that their vision is succeeding.

One measure of our success is that the animal called the "movement conservative" is extinct. Thanks to our work, the indigenous paleoism of the American people has swamped the artificial ideologies of the elites that once monopolized permissible right-wing thought and politics.

That first meeting of paleos anticipated the collapse of the conservatism that had helped define the American landscape from the middle fifties to 1989. Those years were dominated by conventional, prepackaged thought that neither paleolibertarians nor paleoconservatives felt comfortable with.

Let's recall the bad old days. This was a movement that made very few distinctions, except at the most abstract level, among Irving Kristol, Henry Hazlitt, Richard Weaver, and Bill Buckley. In the fantasies of the politicos and foundation heads that ran the movement, Frank Chodorov led directly to Bill Bennett, and no dissent from this unlikely intellectual path was allowed.

In those days, conservatism was easy to sum up. It was free enterprise, a strong defense, and traditional values. Fair enough. But it was in the details and the omissions that the Prince of Darkness emerged.

For free enterprise didn't mean cutting the size of the government or deregulating the economy. It meant such things as loose credit for big business and

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P.C. Watch

Lies, Damned Lies, and Journalism

How many times, in the days after the O.J. verdict, did we see the media assert, with no evidence, that white juries in the South had routinely let off white defendants guilty of crimes against blacks? And recently, when Stephanie Salter, liberal columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner* (11/9/95), worried that San Franciscans had almost overturned, in Proposition O, the renaming of Army Street in honor of commie Cesar Chavez, she felt called to pass on another falsehood in the cause of cleaning up the "sheer volume of ill-will that was sown" by residents and business owners on Army Street who didn't want their home renamed in honor of the "civil-rights giant."

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"A Latina made me wince in shame," says Salter, "as she described an encounter with an elderly white woman in my own parish. Upon exiting Mass, the old 'Christian' lady cursed and thrust her raised middle finger at the Hispanic woman because she'd offered her some No on O literature."

Sure she did, Stephanie. No one who knows anything about ethnic victimologists, nor old white ladies at Mass, can have any doubt about who gave the finger to whom.

Among all the endorsements, virtual and direct, of liberal Colin Powell for president, one surprise was Rush Limbaugh's.

Half of His Brain

Among all the endorsements, virtual and direct, of liberal Colin Powell for president, one surprise was Rush Limbaugh's. As the *Washington Post* reports (10/23/95), "Limbaugh, who has been denouncing Clinton for three years, told listeners last week that Powell could well get the GOP nomination, 'and if he doesn't, Clinton may waltz to victory.' Conservatives, he said, must decide which is more important: 'Compromising principle for victory, or uncompromising principle and defeat.'"

How Rich?

Senator Wendell Ford (D-KY) was being interviewed on radio station WHAS in Louisville when a caller told him: "I'm not near as rich as you, Senator." Ford responded: "Well, I'm not nigger rich, either."

The Senator later claimed: "I thought the caller used an offensive racial epithet. I was so shocked and offended that I shot back at him, and I repeated what I thought the caller had said to emphasize how offensive it was to me." (*Washington Post*, 1/2/95) Sure, Wendell. But because Ford is a liberal Democrat, he went unscathed.

What TV Game Show Is Racist?

The answer is "Jeopardy," according to black poet Maya Angelou, who says she is now "boycotting" the show by not watching it. "I turn on a program like 'Jeopardy,'" she told David Frost, "where quite often I am featured, or my name, or some book I've written, or some music I've written is the answer, and I see no black people. I mean, I haven't seen a black person for two years on 'Jeopardy.'"

"We would love to have more members of minority groups appear on the show," says producer George Vosburgh. "We have been disappointed by the number of such individuals who have chosen to apply to become contestants." (*New York Post*, 10/27/95)

A Different Drummer

Congressman and Republican presidential candidate Bob Dornan (R-CA) was at a meeting of Republican activists, and said he was amazed at the nearly simultaneous black prison riots across the country when Congress didn't cut sentences for crack cocaine. "What do they got," he quipped to two reporters, "jungle drums?" Later, Dornan indignantly non-denied the incident to the *Washington Post* (10/27/95): "I would not say such a thing. I don't believe I did." Anyway, it's the equivalent of "through the grapevine," and besides, "I marched with Martin Luther King."

Roseann May Be Available

Peta—People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals—has been attacked by the Green Party of Great Britain for an anti-fur ad campaign. Not that the Greens are pro-fur. It's that the ad features a largely bare photo of German supermodel Nadja Auermann, which reinforces—according to the Greens—"dangerous" sexual stereotypes of how women should look.

Women who are not tall and thin feel demeaned, said Green spokesman Peggy Alexander. "All women are different and diversity is beautiful." So Peta should "include images of overweight and short people too" (London *Telegraph*, 11/10/95).

Sex After 85

"It was a modern romance, at once pure and uncomplicated." He was married. "Then there was his walker." But 85-year-old Fritzie Heilbron is "smitten" with her 76-year-old boyfriend. And they're having a great time because sex is now approved in nursing homes. "It's not just a matter of dirty old men and disgusting old women," Robert Butler, director of the International Longevity Center at Mount Sinai Hospital told the *New York Times* (11/6/95). The importance of "being together in bed is an expression that remains vital to the end of life."

The Hebrew Home for the Aged in the Bronx, where Mrs. Heilbron lives, is "in the vanguard of the shift away from seeing sex in nursing homes as a behavior problem." A "new policy

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gives patients the right to privacy so they can carry on intimate relationships."

"Jacob Reingold, the vice chairman of the Hebrew Home, which is run according to Orthodox Jewish law, acknowledges that the home would face a quandary if two unwed patients wanted to live together as a couple." But otherwise it seeks "to assist budding romances." According to Mr. Reingold, the issue must not be "swept under the cover."

Some women at the home disapprove of the new policy, but according to 86-year-old Sonya Kantor, head of the resident's council who has a "gentleman friend" herself, that is just because the women are jealous.

"The thorniest issue of sexual conduct at nursing homes involves relations between patients with dementia," says the *Times*. But according to Dr. Philip D. Sloane of the University of North Carolina, "aberrant behavior like public masturbation" is "just a reaching out for intimacy."

I Hate Halloween

There are plenty of reasons to hate Halloween, and not only because it's representative of government ("Trick or Treat"). According to the *New York Times* (11/1/95), "once a fairly simple pageant with fairly simple requirements"—like a pumpkin and a knife—the holiday has now become a "universal, secular celebration that is open to all and demeaning to few, even though Halloween indeed has religious roots." The ritzy "Westchester suburb of Chappaqua," which "cancelled its Christmas and Easter shows," drew thousands to its "Halloween Ragamuffin parade on Sunday."

"The same public elementary schools that prohibit Christmas decorations" and ban "holiday songs with religious references" now "encourage youngsters to wear costumes to school on Halloween." Annual spending on Halloween now exceeds $1.5 billion.

Dollars for Scholars

The Albion (Mich.) College student senate has rejected a request by senior Jeff Schroder that the college end its automatic payment of $4,000 a year to all black students. Known as the "diversity award," the money goes to "every black student, regardless of need or academic merit," says the *Detroit Free Press* (9/20/95). "I think the student senate does not represent the student body at Albion," said Schroder. If his proposal were "put to a student-wide referendum," he said, "it would pass overwhelmingly."

There are plenty of reasons to hate Halloween, and not only because it's representative of government ("Trick or Treat").

Okinawa P.C.

The crime that may end the military occupation of Japan—the vicious kidnapping, beating, and rape of a 12-year-old schoolgirl by three burly U.S. servicemen—has, inevitably, a p.c. aspect.

According to the mothers of the admitted rapists, who held a press conference at the far-left Center for Democratic Renewal in Atlanta, the whole affair is racist because the men are black.

"I know my innecents, and they also know there innecents," the ring leader wrote to his mother, after pleading guilty. She told the press conference that she was "never prouder" of her son. "It takes courage to admit something that you know deep in your heart that you did not do."

She also criticized the military for stopping its payments to the men, including the portion she received. The man's lawyer told CNN (11/7/95) that the crime was caused by the military. "He's stressed and has troubles with officers."

Wrong Race

Randy Lawson, a Lubbock, Texas, stockbroker was shot to death early on an April 1994 morning by two blacks because the was the first white they saw after deciding to kill one. The young man was delivering newspapers—a second job—when he was murdered. Imagine what we would have heard about this case had the races been reversed. (AP, 9/7/95)

Mellowing Out

An "anger-management counselor" beat a client to death at a Honolulu class on "controlling violent behavior," says the *New York Times* (10/14/95). The dead man had been ordered to attend the class after he beat up his girlfriend. ■

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school vouchers as a way of achieving the egalitarian goals of the left.

Strong defense, it turns out, wasn't about defeating communism. In fact, the defenders were notably upset when communism defeated itself. Strong defense turned out to be a euphemism for

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world empire administered by the U.S. through a combination of bombs and bribes, along with an endless stream of dollars propping up the militarized industrial sector here at home.

Traditional values meant a bigger Department of Education lording it over local schools to make sure they taught what urban elites regarded as cultural literacy. It meant tens of billions spent in a global drug war that crushed the autonomy of local law enforcement. It meant a bully pulpit for virtue czars whose goal was to replace an anti-family central plan with an allegedly pro-family central plan.

In those days, it was easy to be a conservative activist. One only needed to shout slogans like: set up enterprise zones, support the contras, pass the line-item veto, cut the capital gains tax, down with the Congress, make us colorblind, and, most of all, let Reagan be Reagan.

How the left must have loved it. There was no threat to the power and authority of the omnipotent state. The right of those days never thought of challenging the fundamental philosophical and political assumptions of the American socialist regime.

To the extent that the conservative side won the petty battles of the eighties, it also lost. The imperial presidency helped set the stage for a Democratic takeover of the White House. The national security state made left-wing adventures like Haiti and Somalia possible. The drug war was transformed into a war on tobacco and "unhealthy living." Besides, the Republicans saved social security, gave us a new cabinet department, imposed the national curriculum, doubled the size of the welfare state, and tripled the deficit.

This was the left's dream come true. They could see their agenda fulfilled, agitate for further departures from the Old Republic, and never have to take responsibility for the resulting mess.

After this long period of intellectual bankruptcy, how glorious it was to see the stultifying conservative consensus collapse like the Berlin Wall.

Several factors brought it to an end. Despite two supposedly successful terms by President Reagan, the central state was bigger than ever, which gave the lie to claims about limited government. Traditional values, it turns out, had nothing to do with reversing Roe v. Wade or defunding the NEA and NEH. And we were all getting poorer, one of the consequences of half a dozen Republican tax increases.

The elites begged and pleaded with the American people to stay hopped up for imminent war,

The major change, of course, was the end of the Cold War. Whatever you think of the Cold War, everyone knew it was a time in which the old conservative strictures against big government had to be put on hold. Both the friends and the enemies of a huge standing military knew it was impossible to maintain a commitment to a Constitutional Republic while trying to vanquish an enemy halfway around the world and destabilizing any government not following State Department orders.

Indeed, the Cold War cemented national loyalties and undermined localism, suppressed opposition to government policy, forged a culture of fear and statism, and portrayed the central state as the only thing standing between us and nuclear annihilation. If conservatives had to put up with the liberal welfare and regulatory state for the sake of national survival, so be it.

In the early days, Bill Buckley had said that what he called a totalitarian bureaucracy was merely temporary. After communism went away, he once claimed, we would return to the federal republic the framers had envisioned. That was eyewash, of course. The governing elite was not prepared to surrender any of its power, and a strong defense suddenly came to mean maintaining a Cold-War-sized military machine because, after all, it is still a dangerous world, indeed, "more dangerous than ever."

But dangerous for whom? It certainly wasn't dangerous for Americans in America, and the American people knew it. All the loyalties to the central government—and willful blindness to its real character—that the Cold War had manufactured begun to collapse. The neocons flew into panic, and invented new rationales—or resurrected old liberal ones—for world empire. We are all world citizens, they said, because this is the first universal nation.

The elites begged and pleaded with the American people to stay hopped up for imminent war, but it couldn't work. With an instinct for justice, Americans demanded a return to normalcy, which meant a life of caring about one's own work, business, family, church, and community. The American people would not become citizens of the world, and especially not of crazy Arab fiefdoms they had never heard of.

Bush's Gulf War was the last hurrah of the Cold War state. And it was this event, more than any other, that forged the paleo coalition, and turned it into a force in national politics, the most impor-

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tant organized intellectual voice to appear in conservative circles since the death of Robert Taft.

The paleos were united in opposition to the Gulf War. It didn't take a cynic to believe that the federal government wasn't really interested in Kuwait's colonial borders. The paleos saw the war as designed to buttress the central state, big oil, and the military-industrial complex, an argument that drove the *Wall Street Journal* batty. The editors knew the power of right-wing anti-war sentiment as well as we did.

The public *was* wild for the war—initially. But without the backdrop of the Cold War, pro-Gulf War sentiment faded rapidly, and the militarism that was once a staple now virtually vanished.

The mass of conservatives would eventually shuck off the pro-war propaganda of the neoconservatives, and come to understand that it's impossible to limit government at home and leave it unconstrained abroad.

These days, it's hard to find anyone on the right who thinks the Gulf War was an heroic moment, much less looks forward to similar military adventures in state-enhancing jingoism.

The paleo anti-war position, considered to be nearly treasonous at the time, became virtually mainstream, and set the stage for the unceasing opposition to imperialism that you find at the grass roots all across America. The Cold War has at last truly ended. Despite all the new talk about a Chinese or Serbian menace, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the elites to revive it.

Meanwhile, the paleo coalition prompted a rethinking of a whole variety of issues that had been buried in the Cold War consensus. Suddenly, it was possible to debate the stupidity of trade treaties, the dangers of unlimited immigration, the problems with central banking, the evil of the UN, the horror of a federal police, states rights, civil rights, the role of race in American politics, the lost wisdom of the Old Right, the moral imperative of abolishing and not just reforming the welfare state, secessionism, militarism, the cultural roots of American society, and much more.

This debate necessarily took place without the permission of the neoconservative foundations that had helped keep a lid on dissent. After paleoism, all these issues were not only on the table; they were the main course.

No longer can the established interests count on obedience.

Through determination and courage, the paleos became a virtually unstoppable force, and we began to swamp the neocons on every issue. The left libertarians and the neocons have been forced to spend the last three years playing catchup. And not always with success. For example, Jack Kemp opposed prop. 187; Bill Kristol endorsed Colin Powell; and every last think tank but the ones represented at this meeting endorsed Nafta and Gatt. These were monumental strategic errors that they would take back if they could.

This time last year, a paleo-inspired revolution led to a sweeping anti-government revolt. The result was 73 freshmen who are on the whole pretty good. They favor limited government at home and abroad, do not jump when Bill Kristol says jump, and have no interest in the recent marching orders from neocon foundations.

They care about issues like gun rights, property rights, opposing the New World Order, stopping the forced integration called immigration, and more. Many of them are naive, but on the whole we are justified in calling the freshmen class the paleo class. More importantly, the voter sentiment that put them into power had nothing to do with the Contract With America and everything to do with our issues.

Indeed, all the issues that animate the voters are our issues. You see it at every conservative meeting. Speakers can blab on about vouchers all day long, but audiences don't care. Finally, a speaker will mention abolishing foreign aid, and the crowds go wild.

There's every indication that our issues will dominate political discussion in this country for the rest of this century and on into the next. In the early days, paleos set out to find ideological soulmates and to learn from each other. We ended up leading a political revolt of unprecedented proportions and witnessing one of the great political pleasures: the ideological marginalization of our enemies.

No longer can the established interests count on obedience. The crucial error made by Bill Kristol when he started his publication was that, for all his vaunted insider knowledge, he failed to take account of the new situation. He edits a dumping ground for the manuscripts that neocons couldn't get published elsewhere. Or as John Judis put it, what seems to be a transcript of tv punditry. It has no power to persuade or even to intimidate.

Our enemies may be ideologically irrelevant, and that's an important step, but unfortunately, they still have all the big guns on their side: the large foundations, the military contractors, and most of the publications and columnists. And they have what has

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turned about to be the greatest weapon of all: the Republican Congressional leadership.

These are the men who are thwarting the authentic forces of revolution in Congress. It is the leadership that made possible such outrages as the Mexican bailout, distracted us with a useless Contract With America, increased both revenue and spending this year, rammed through a welfare reform that increases welfare, and conspired, so far unsuccessfully, to raise taxes on four separate occasions.

The federal government will be bigger, more powerful, and more centralized next year than this. That means our key problem—a voracious and malicious leviathan—is becoming worse, despite the glorious days of federal shutdown.

Congress can only draw up an actual budget for one year. It cannot bind future Congresses. Only what it does now counts.

The freshmen have fought against this trend, but now they know what Murray Rothbard warned them about one year ago: they have had to choose between sticking to principle and being loyal to the Republican leadership.

The clock has probably already run out for this Congress. If it were going to do anything to make our lives better and our future more secure, it would have done it by now. The forces of statism and centralism have secured their status, and no longer fear what the power shift portends for them.

They know that the leadership and the freshmen have different interests and ambitions. The new crop were for the most part citizens and activists, not professional politicians. The old guard of Gingrich and Armey have made a business out of government itself and have everything tied up in its future. They have to put off this revolution, or—more accurately—continue to lead it nowhere.

Some of these leaders claim to be influenced by Mises and even Rothbard, but that tells us nothing about what actually motivates them. It only tells us which constituency they are trying to court. From day to day, these birds have the same goals that almost everyone in Washington has: to get good press coverage, keep their friends happy, accumulate personal power, and get reelected.

For years, conservatives have quoted the statement by Richard Weaver that ideas have consequences, which is also the title of his wonderful pro-isolationist book. But slogans from politicians' lips are not the same thing as ideas, much less are they actual accomplishments. We must realize that when it comes to politicians, it is not their ideas that have consequences, but their actions.

And by its actions, the Republican leadership has proven itself to be as perfidious as the old Democrats. Actually more so. Whatever was wrong with Tip O'Neil and Jim Wright, they didn't claim to be cutting spending while actually increasing it.

Along with the betrayal of the leadership, we've also got a new list of tricky words to decipher. All year we've heard about budget savings. It turns out that this means nothing more than lowering the projected amount of future spending. But projected by whom? By the same people who are claiming to cut the budget.

Recently, they've been saying that the president refused to sign the balanced budget they've submitted. But there's nothing balanced about it. In seven years, they say, it will be balanced. That's like a drunk saying, congratulate me. I'm going to stop drinking in 2002.

Besides, Congress can only draw up an actual budget for one year. It cannot bind future Congresses. Only what it does now counts.

Word play is also a key part of the Republican leadership's attempt to raise taxes. They take away loopholes, which means business will be taxed more, and claim that removes special privilege. They are also working with Alan Greenspan to change the way the CPI is constructed, on grounds that the current definition overestimates the actual amount of inflation.

By what standard can they say this? One they make up out of thin air. I don't put any faith in government statistics, but if they are to have any meaning at all, they must be consistently applied. Indeed, the very definition of an index number is a formula that stays consistent from one period to the next. If they manipulate the CPI enough and backdate it, they could even make the dollar increase in value.

Another gimmick tried by Republicans is privatization. We had not heard that word in a long while. When it popped up again recently, it wasn't to privatize federal lands. It was to privatize tax collections. The leadership seriously proposed that private bill collectors be used to extract more money from the American taxpayer.

There's no doubt that tax farming is more efficient than making the bureaucracy raise its own money. That's exactly why it must be opposed. Unfortunately,

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the Republican leadership included this monstrosity in its "balanced budget" plan.

The rest of the tax reform game is equally scandalous. One group says it is going to give us the flat tax. For many people it will be a higher tax, with no deductions for charitable giving or mortgage interest. What's so great about a flat tax anyway? The Social Security tax is flat and nobody enjoys paying that.

Even more dangerous is the national sales tax. If it were to be revenue neutral, and exempt items like food and medicine as its sponsors claim, it would have to be an astounding 50 percent of retail purchases, drastically skewing the economy away from exchange and towards autarky, with equally drastic social consequences.

Both the flat tax and the national sales tax are "revenue neutral." No one in the leadership is interested in the Mises Institute plan: the lower tax.

Now to welfare reform, another fraud the leadership has concocted. We'll have to wait to see whether the bill that emerges from the House-Senate conference makes the system drastically worse, marginally worse, or just keeps it as bad. The leadership claims to be transferring the functions to the states. What it is actually doing is changing the name on the check from one division of the federal government to another.

Under the old system, Washington taxes people $500 billion a year and redistributes the proceeds to pressure groups in the name of helping the oppressed. Under the new system, Washington taxes people $500 billion a year, divides it up among state governments, and under federal guidance, *they* redistribute the proceeds to pressure groups in the name of helping the oppressed.

This represents more than ideological subterfuge. Depending on how the benefit formula is eventually configured, it could end up as a huge subsidy to some states. The empirically minded will surely discover that the winning states are the Republican states. But that means that they will become lobbyists for the continuation of welfare. In the long run, then, we could find that this welfare reform will make authentic welfare abolition more difficult. Which may be part of the point.

The most fiery debate within the established ranks of the Republican Party was not about the fact that overall welfare spending will be *higher* after the reform than before. It was over the question of illegitimacy in the underclass, and, in particular, among blacks. One side favored the so-called family cap and the other did not. If we have to choose, we should support the family cap.

I have no sympathy for poor women having children just so they can get a welfare check. But here's a proviso. Bill Bennett and other neocon foundation groupies in Washington see stopping these births as the single priority of all welfare reform. But the neoconservatives, as faithful believers in the welfare state, would never cut off subsidies to do that. Instead, they want to add work and therapeutic requirements for mothers, and government homes to train their children during the day.

The poor are not the victims of the present system, unless you think that criminals are the victims of the people they rob.

How that will bring back black family life, they never explain. This is evidence of an emerging school of thought that we can call conservative social engineering. Instead of being content with a federal government that does nothing for such people, the neocons want to use the apparatus of the welfare state to restructure society, in the name of imposing social planning that is presumably more pro-family than present policy.

Of course, they claim that their reforms would be good for the poor. You may have noticed that these days, we are not allowed to discuss anything about welfare reform unless we first profess pious devotion to the poor, and demonstrate that our solution is the best for them. Even better, we have to go live as homeless people for a week, or take a bum into our home and let him eat with the family, as Marvin Olasky recommends.

I say forget it. The term "poor" is not a designation of a material status; it is a political term designating a political status. It has become a synonym for the parasitical class that the middle class is supposed to support at increased levels until the entire stock of national wealth is gone. The poor are not the victims of the present system, unless you think that criminals are the victims of the people they rob.

When it comes to welfare reform, our priority should be to stop the victimization of the *middle class*, which is sinking further and further into the economic mire. Stop taxing them to support their permanent dependents. That would be justice.

But Canadian commentator David Frum tells us that all the complaints about welfare from the middle class are hypocritical. Take away Social Security, Medicare, and other targeted cash benefits, and the screams dwarf those of the

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underclass. See, he says, there really is no difference in middle class and underclass attitudes toward the government. *Ergo*, the middle-class, anti-government, paleo revolution is really a phony.

Now, I'm of the opinion that these middle-class programs should be abolished. Among other good things, that would inspire a tax revolt like this country has never seen. But until then, let's remember this about the middle class. It is also the taxpaying class. It's not surprising that the people who pay between 30 and 50 percent of their income to the federal government would also demand something in return.

Dole and Gingrich and Armey have forgotten what it means to be an American.

For this reason, all types of welfare cannot be considered equal. When money goes to the so-called poor, it goes to people who are net drains on society in every sense. They do not work in markets. They do not pay taxes. They do not contribute. The middle class does pay taxes, work, and contribute. It tends to see these benefits as matters of justice and a form of restitution. A smart politician who wanted to end the system would have to advocate tax cuts equivalent to the benefit cuts.

Now it's true that among older people you find those who fight for Social Security even though they are receiving far more than they paid in. Is this greedy? In the case of the official lobbyists, I would say yes. But the average person who resents cuts is not tabulating the taxes he paid to the Social Security Administration and contrasting that with his benefit level. He is thinking about a lifetime of putting up with increasing levels of taxes and federal harassment, not to the mention the taxes he is paying now or what will be taken from his estate after death.

Put in that context, these people have a point. Not that Mr. Frum, who is not an honest man, could begin to understand issues like justice and property rights.

One of the most insidious things about FDR's social insurance schemes is that they do set up this kind of intertemporal tradeoff—pay taxes now and get benefits later—that is difficult to abolish. If it is to be done effectively, it must take place in the context of a revolution against the whole of the federal government.

There's another matter too. Contrary to Frumian fantasies, the middle class in America does not consist of selfish people scheming to extract every dime from Washington. The trouble comes when people are asked to have benefits cut at the same time there are no cuts in items like foreign aid, welfare for non-taxpayers, subsidies to the United Nations, and bailouts of third-world basketcases like Mexico.

It's because items like these are not cut that Republicans have lost so much credibility with the public. The Republican leadership is already feeling the people's wrath, as Americans continue to be traumatized by declining living standards and see no way out.

All these themes have come together, for example, in the backlash against environmentalism and the reassertion of the right to own and control private property, especially land. This is the key to understanding the political rebellion in the West, which grows increasingly radical day by day.

The Republican leadership, its loyalty primarily to political and economic interests in the New York-Washington corridor, has sold Western property rights advocates down the river. It has not reformed the Endangered Species Act, wetlands laws, the Clean Water Act, or anything else. This has caused an explosion of anger among grassroots organizations.

Just about the only area in which the leadership has been forced to allow the freshmen their way, for now, is Bosnia. The freshmen have heroically passed measures demanding that Mr. Clinton get the approval of Congress before sending troops to protect the borders of yet another Islamic fiefdom.

These young legislators are not only doing the will of their constituents. Having lived through the Vietnam era, the freshmen understand how pointless and horrible war can be, and how the State uses war as the means of expanding its power. They also understand that wars and lies are inseparable.

If we want a barometer of authentic right-wing opinion on the war question, don't read the *Weekly Standard*. Listen to a recent speech by ex-cold warrior Oliver North. He denounced any intervention in the Bosnian conflict, condemned the Somalian and Haitian invasions, called for the U.S. to get out of the United Nations, and then the U.N. to get out of the U.S.

Moreover, he said he's sick and tired of hearing how young men in the military give their lives for their country. He's had young soldiers die in his arms, he said, and their lives were not given. They were taken from them in a foreign land by foreign peoples. He doesn't wish that fate on any other American.

These days—to the horror of the *Standard*—Ollie North is cheered to the skies by average Americans ready to bring every

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last soldier home. Meanwhile, the Republican leadership is still the captive of the military industrial complex. Already, some of the freshmen have fought the old guard on questions of military appropriations. It's only a matter of time before this conflict becomes full blown as well.

Today, the leadership is in trouble on a whole number of fronts—including guns, taxes, land, and many more—because people like Dole and Gingrich and Armey have forgotten about what it means to be an American.

The American dream is not to have the country run by an oligarchy of central planners called Republicans instead of Democrats. The American dream is to be able to live our lives in freedom without being pushed around by distant rulers. That was the core of the founding and that is the core of the continuing political rebellion.

In the last several years, the top issues that inspired the most hatred of the federal government were, of course, the Branch Davidian and Randy Weaver raids. These are far from having played out. In fact, they will go down in history as the atrocities that fueled the first serious threat to the regime's legitimacy since 1865.

But let's not overlook the importance that the Mexican bailout has had in discrediting the leadership of both political parties, the Federal Reserve, Rush Limbaugh, the New York banking elite, and the entire crowd of establishment political commentators and think tanks that supported the Nafta treaty.

Both parties are so hip deep in this outrage that neither can talk about it. The bailout, which occurred earlier this year, could eventually lead to a successful third party effort or even completely fracture whatever order is left in American political life.

Congress could have stopped the bailout, but the leadership prevented a vote. We know this only from press stories on the secret January 26, 1995, meeting in the White House. The *Wall Street Journal*'s Paul Gigot wrote that "my sources say Mr. Gingrich became the most vocal supporter of the rescue at the last Thursday's meeting."

Everywhere you go, there is fury about this financial mess, and outrage at those who made it possible. Why has the truth been covered up? Polls at the time showed 80 percent public disapproval of the bailout. Both parties, their private sponsors, and their paid intellectuals were terrified that they would be forced to eat their 10,000-page trade treaty. They may yet. Gingrich, Armey, and Dole took the backdoor to bailout, and the revisionists are hard at work.

We can only marvel at the stupidity and the monumental strategic screw-up of the neocons who supported Powell.

The Mexican bailout is the best available symbol of what happens when a tyrannical governing class protects its interests at the expense of everyone else. The logic of political action mandates that it cannot continue on this large a scale for long, especially when there is no foreign enemy to distract us.

My fellow paleos, we have yet to see the triumph of our cause. But it is coming. The liberals and the neocons are completely out of ideas on how to prop up the Washington power structure in the face of mass revolt.

The best they could come up with recently was Colin Powell. He's a military man, widely respected, and black, they thought. That makes him the perfect candidate. For what? For making permanent the betrayal of the revolution.

We can only marvel at the stupidity and the monumental strategic screw-up of the neocons who supported Powell. The decision has already led to the discrediting of the *Weekly Standard*. It has revealed deep distrust between the Christian Right and the neocon elite, and a loss of credibility for the official commentators and conservative editorial pages that didn't reject the idea out of hand. They say we needed Colin Powell to heal our divisions. What they really meant was they needed him to clamp down on right-wing dissent.

But such a strategy won't work for the masses of voters, many of whom will throw themselves into conventional presidential politics only under special circumstances. That's why we need a candidate deeply and profoundly committed to the destruction of the leviathan and all its works, and to carrying out the operation with breathtaking speed and determination.

We cannot go the path that Irving Kristol has plotted for us. "Many of my British friends are resigned to seeing their children do less well," he writes. "Such resignation is our fate." Perhaps it's *his* fate. But as for us and the masses of paleos—that is, the Americans—we will prosper as the status and power of the governing elites shrink. With the banners of Rothbard and Bradford before us, we will be the vanguard of this revolution. ■

This was the keynote address at the 1995 meeting of the John Randolph Club.

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Mid-Morning Line on Winning the Presidency

by Burton S. Blumert

It was just about a year ago that Murray N. Rothbard wrote his last article for the *RRR*, on "1996—The Morning Line" [February 1995].

With typical brilliance, Murray dissected each candidate and his chances. It's amazing how his analysis has withstood the flood of events. Only the Almost candidacy of Colin Powell escaped Murray's crystal ball.

With elections less than a year away, it's time for a Mid-Morning Line. But first, some do's and don't's.

Unfortunately, the feds forbid wagering on elections. It would be fun—and informative—to have Las Vegas odds on the political campaigns.

Aside from not being able to bet legally on your candidate, sorely missed is the handicapper. This fellow puts his money where his mouth is.

Whether it's thoroughbred horses or politicians, the handicapper brings his judgment, experience, and entrepreneurial skill to the forecasting of future trends.

While the pollster risks nothing by producing shoddy information, the handicapper is financially vulnerable. The pollster will often provide false data. His polls are designed not to tell you how other people will vote, but to tell you how *you* should vote.

By placing odds on each contestant, the handicapper is seeking an equilibrium. He does not want too many of his customers betting on one "horse." That would bring the handicapper's judgment into question, and result in his becoming a gambler. A successful handicapper never gambles.

Don't send any money (except to buy holiday gift subscriptions to the *RRR*!)

Here are the odds on each candidate as I see them in November 1995. Two things: these are not the odds as I would like them to be, and please don't send any money (except to buy holiday gift subscriptions to the *RRR*!)

Clinton	even money
~~Powell~~	scratched
Dole	5 to 2
~~Gingrich~~	scratched
Gramm	15 to 1
Buchanan	20 to 1
Perot	25 to 1
Forbes	35 to 1
Alexander	50 to 1
Field (Lugar, Keyes, Dornan *et al.*)	99 to 1

The Anti-Anti-Semitic Smearbund

by Paul Gottfried

Murray Rothbard used to thunder against what he called the "anti-anti-Semitic smearbund." Murray meant by that the organized efforts of liberal and neocon journalists to treat uncongenial viewpoints as self-evidently anti-Jewish. In his response to the assaults on Pat Buchanan during the Republican presidential primaries in 1992, Murray laid out the distinguishing characteristics of these unfair broadsides. One, their authors said pretty much the same things cast in the same phrases, despite their attempts to appear ideologically distinct. Charles Krauthammer, John Leo, Richard Cohen, and William Raspberry all could have written each other's column about Buchanan's putative dark side. Two, none of their attacks could demonstrate that Buchanan manifested hatred of Jews, as opposed to disagreeing with opinions that most American Jews held. That is, Buchanan took positions that were anti-liberal and critical of the American Zionist lobby. His anti-Semitism was therefore to be inferred, in contrast to what past generations assumed to be anti-Semitism: explicit statements of revulsion toward Jews as a group.

It is suggested, perhaps most often by the Anti-Defamation League, that since the Holocaust anti-Semites cannot afford to be as brazen as they once were. In the face of this catastrophe caused by anti-Semitic bigotry, Jew-haters have had to change their tone. They do not vilify Jews openly any longer, but resort to coded language which is accessible to other bigots. Instead of declaiming against Jews, the new anti-Semites as depicted by Norman Podhoretz, Ruth Wisse, and Abe Foxman criticize Israel. They rant against Israeli hardliners who resist the peace talks with the PLO and single out Israeli acts of brutality committed against Palestinians.

In a long brief published last summer by the ADL, it is the moral

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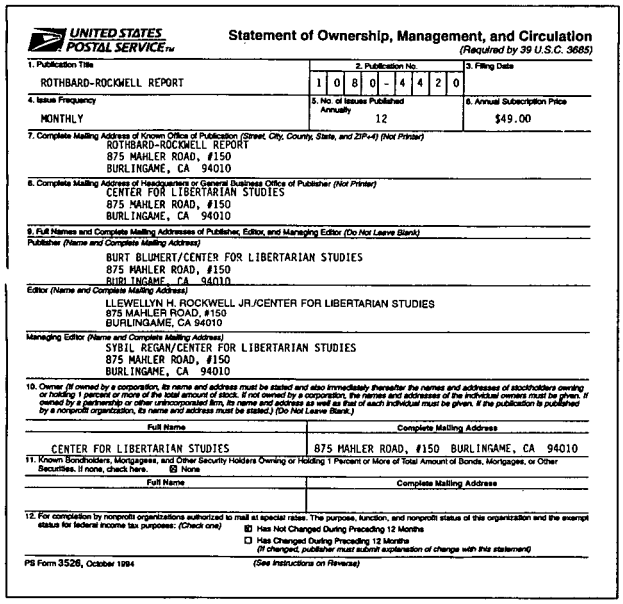

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traditionalists of the Christian Right who are alleged to be the major source of American anti-Semitism. Beneath their stern criticism of the feminist and gay agendas, we are urged to look for nativist and anti-Jewish sentiments. In the guilt by association method favored by the ADL and American Jewish Congress, failure to go along with liberal social agendas betrays an unacknowledged hostility toward Jews.

This inferential approach to anti-Semitism operates in the absence of proof, and manufactures tests for its assertions that have more to do with the tester's political peeves than with those anti-Semitic attitudes we are supposed to go in search of. It might be asked why should a Christian society, in which Jews have prospered, and in which Christians have spilt blood fighting Nazi persecutors of the Jews, now feel obliged to tread softly in talking about Jewish concerns.

Why do American Christians strain not to give offense to American Jewish groups, when they gladly blame themselves for every conceivable social and cultural evil? The reason is not that American Jews have suffered in the New World more than other European settlers. Almost all Catholic ethnics and some Protestant ones, like Scandinavians in the Midwest, labored under the same disabilities, and in some cases far longer than the children of the Eastern European Jewish immigrants who came at the turn of the century.

Does the greater verbal restraint applied to American Jews than to American Christians reveal an unsubdued anti-Semitism—or, to the contrary, far more sensitivity to Jewish feelings than to those of Christians? And why is this double standard routinely applied to these two groups? Note the bizarre obligation felt by the head of the Christian Coalition Ralph Reed who, in a speech this spring to the ADL, made a startlingly conterfactual confession. Reed ruefully observed that American Christians were not sufficiently aware of their complicity, as Christians, in both the Holocaust and Spanish Inquisition. Reed's confession won the approval of Mona Charen, Cal Thomas, and other neocon regulars; nonetheless, *New York Times* commentator Frank Rich felt that Reed was offering too little too late.

It is clear by now that what Buchanan called the "branding iron of anti-Semitism" is a form of defamation, to be turned against anyone with whom the defamer intends to get even. It also comes with a carefully reserved right. If a consistent standard of discouraging prejudice were being applied, then the anti-Southern and anti-Christian bigotry which reveals itself on prime-time TV would receive more critical notice than the inferential anti-Semitism being described.

Liberal and neocon journalists treat uncongenial viewpoints as self-evidently anti-Jewish.

Put most bluntly, the Christian world has gone from picking on Jews to encouraging them and other non-Christians to treat the

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majority religion with utter contempt. Christians have become a Nietzschean invention, a moving target of cultural masochists.

But beyond that historical problem is another relevant one that I have studied in more depth, the continuing relation between "anti-Semitism," vaguely defined, and the therapeutic state. In the late forties the American Jewish Committee, which would soon launch *Commentary*, began subsidizing the research and publication of a series of sociological tracts, *Studies in Prejudice*. The best publicized work in this series, the *Authoritarian Personality*, came out in 1950 and set the tone for subsequent volumes.

Reams of research were tendentiously presented to demonstrate in the words of a series-editor, Daniel Levinson, that "anti-Semitism remains a major threat to American democratic institutions." In retrospect, this assertion seems wildly exaggerated. What might be more accurately said is that while anti-Semitism was a disappearing social problem in postwar America, it was an obsession among the New York Jewish sociologists, Daniel Levinson, S. R. Lipset, Ilse Frenkel, and Paul Lazarfeld, who contributed to the *Studies in Prejudice*. Memories of the Nazis and the European anti-Semitism clouded their judgments and led them to overstate the dangers existing for Jews in the U.S.

But, far more importantly, their work had less to do with anti-Jewish prejudice than with their own social agenda. All of the contributors were socialists and social engineers who saw a need for a larger and more intrusive central government. They spoke about economic democracy and resocialization and, as Christopher Lasch notes in *The True and Only Heaven*, combined talk about a workers' state with hatred for blue-collar Americans. In the early fifties S.R. Lipset and his close friend Richard Hofstadter stressed the urgent need to educate American workers to prepare them for social democracy. Most troubling to these commentators were the retrograde attitudes which they encountered outside of their own social world, particularly in the South and among Catholic ethnics.

These political and cultural judgments shape the view of anti-Semitism presented in the *Studies*. There anti-Semitism is the label given to whatever the authors dislike. In the *Authoritarian Personality* opposition to the New Deal, distaste for homosexuality, and a patriarchal view of the family are all correlated with anti-Semitism. These positions are treated as "pathological" and, in the later sections of the volume, related to a "predisposition to crime."

Having plowed through most of the *AP*, it is hard for me to discern any of those connections that the contributors are intent on establishing. In the case of one interviewee, "Mack," Adorno infers a high degree of anti-Semitism from a chance observation that Jews are sometimes clannish. Here we encounter an early instance of inferential anti-Semitism. Given that Mack is a Democrat having second thoughts about the New Deal, it is necessary to conclude that he must also hate Jews. Adorno makes the same interviewee typify the "pseudo-democrat," the kind of person who sided with Nazi big businesses against the Weimar Republic. Such a person, by definition, despises "Jews, New Dealers, bureaucrats and other outsiders."

It is of course impossible, given the analytic framework, to disagree with any of these conclusions, particularly the social policy, without appearing "anti-Semitic." Adorno and his fellow-contributors insulate themselves against criticism by pathologizing dissent. The more fundamentally one disagrees with their presentation, and particularly with its badly disguised values, the more anti-Jewish—i.e., mentally sick—one is assumed to be. To be doubly sure that all readers agree with these judgments, the *Authoritarian Personality* provides an expedient term of contempt for someone who questions its policies, "pseudo-democrat." This conflicted individual, as we warned, cannot embrace social engineering and government economic planning but pretends to be a democrat nonetheless.

The *Studies in Prejudice* series helped create a style of discourse which still characterizes our journalism. It incorporates into a single text a multitude of special concerns by appealing to an unproved national danger. That danger does not require substantiation to be appealed to. Rather it is something to be believed because of its usefulness in building coalitions.

From social psychologists and public administrations to Zionist organizations, there are groups that stand to benefit from crusades against anti-Semitism; the more loosely the term is bandied about, moreover, the wider will be the range of beneficiaries.

Almost all of these interests, from government agents tracking "extremists" to the National Gay and Lesbian Alliance and various Jewish lobbies, thrive from defining and combating hate crimes; the more dramatic the hate being shown the more easily their own activities can be justified. And the more necessary is made to appear the special measures they advocate to deal with the hate in our hearts: e.g., intervention in the classroom by social psychologists to banish youthful prejudice and further civil rights legislation. ■

Dr. Gottfried is professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College and author of The Conservative Movement *(*$18 *postpaid from the* Triple R*). Highly recommended.*

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